ECONOMICS

511 556 Poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Papago did not hoard property; they did not quarrel about land boundaries; they were constantly giving, as though from an inexhaustible supply. The answer is that the supply, meagre though it was from the modern point of view, was sufficient, for their simple needs and more.

431 Food was the principal gift and food will not keep in that hot country except in dehydrated form. Because of the migratory life, it must be left unguarded in storehouses and caches, subject to attack by animals or enemies. Better to dispose of any surplus while it was available and palatable and thus invest in good will! And anything but starvation rations was considered a surplus. The [262] standard meal was corn meal gruel: luxuries much beyond that were donated with lavish hand and never missed.

Giving became the regular Papago investment and the franker individuals say so. It never reached the extravagant proportions demanded in the Plains for all Papago life was in a gentler key. But one who gained the reputation of stinginess had damned his prospects in village and family life while the lavish giver not only achieved honor but had a continual income pouring in. For all gifts were returned, in equal quantity and more. The constant exchange [438] of goods in the form of gifts was the Papago equivalent for trade and merged only occasionally into trade in the stricter sense. Papago economics involves principally the study of groups which had gift relations.

The center of the system was the patriarchal family which, rather than the individual, must be taken as the unit both of property holding and of gift exchange.The family was a business concern, producing and disposing of goods under the direction of its male and female heads, and such production meant a full time occupation. This was not the sort of society where the men, when not hunting or [461 562] fighting, had the privilege of leisure: the men were day laborers like the women. All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark. It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste. But it was unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

221 462 We have noted the division of labor between male and female: a division so sharp that it kept the two sexes in separate groups during

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

ployers are the mining companies (chiefly at Ajo west of the Reservation), surrounding ranchers, and the foremen of the cotton fields along the Salt, Gila, and Santa Cruz rivers. Work in the cotton fields is largely on a family basis, but individuals work in the mines and in households in near-by cities. During the war there was an increasing demand for Papago labor, and some went to distant points to work in factories of all kinds. The government is also an employer: the Agency hires over a hundred Papago as clerks, bus-drivers, school housekeepers, range riders, and in other capacities, chiefly as unskilled laborers.

Even with the addition of wages, Papago income is very low. In 1940, before war wages had swollen the total, the average family income (including estimated value of products used by the family) was about $530 per year, but this does not present a true picture, for two-thirds of the families had incomes of only $265 or less. The more prosperous third, whose incomes brought up the average, were those with cattle, permanent jobs, or private business enterprises, most of whom lived in the southern and eastern districts. In 1943, war jobs, military allotments and extensive cattle sales forced by the drought brought average family income up to about $1,200, but this is obviously a situation unlikely to be duplicated.[6]

THE FUTURE OF PAPAGO ECONOMY

We have seen that the Papago live in a rural peasant economy which has only recently shifted to a cash basis. Money is increasingly important to the Desert People because they no longer produce most of their own food and clothing. A recent study of Papago food habits showed that over half the food used in the period of the study was purchased.[7] Even beef is often sold, and meat is bought.

Many things are imported which could be produced locally. There is a flour mill on the Reservation, but all flour sold at trading posts is imported. Though cattle-raising is the chief Papago cash industry, all the meat sold in two of the three Reservation stores handling this product is imported.

Almost all business on the Reservation is in non-Indian hands. A recent report states: "It is estimated that of every $100 that is received by the Papago, some $50 goes immediately into the hands of businessmen off the reservations. Not only does $90 out of every $100 received from the export of produce, cattle,

6. It is interesting to note that in this year the Papago *family* income was not much above the average *per capita* income for the country as a whole, $1,031 (Charles F. Schwartz, "State Income Payments in 1943," Table 1). For the state of Arizona, per capita income was $865.

7. Emma Reh, "An Economic Study of the Papago Indian Reservation, Arizona" (MS).

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU29

products. However, his visit may have followed a season when no crop was planted on account of late rains, such as Kino[36] cited in 1701 in the vicinity of San Rafael del Actûm Grande (in southern Arizona), where no maize had been raised by the Papago that year because of a like situation. Pa 174 241

All our informants agreed that wild plants and animals formerly constituted a much larger, and much more dependable, fraction of the total Papago food supply than did cultivated plants. Seasonally women devoted themselves to the gathering of wild foods while men and boys hunted rabbits. When the wild foods ripened, large quantities were gathered and stored, but, just before the giant cactus harvest, food became very scarce, as indicated by one of their names for the period that would correspond to our month of May, *ko'ohk macaṭ*, "the painful moon." One informant said that when he was a boy it was not uncommon to "be so hungry [261] that a person became dizzy when he stood up." As in the past, so today, the Papago utilize much more wild plant and animal food than do the Pima; in fact, it is now comparatively rare to find the Pima gathering wild foods of any kind, while many Papago still utilize them to some extent as a matter of necessity, for Papago agriculture is today almost as precarious as in olden times. Pa 174 262 222 224 Pi [262] [222]

Underhill[37] has well pointed out that poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Much the same outlook is still to be observed among the Pima, despite their deculturation. The Pimans did not hoard property; they were constantly making gifts, chiefly of food, for their food supply, meagre though it seems viewed from our standard of living, was more than sufficient for their simple needs, and anything beyond the bare necessities for sustaining life was regarded as a surplus. Papago migratory life, involving the difficulty of food storage, added to the problems of preserving food in so hot a land, greatly fostered Pa 174 511 431 Pi [511]

[36] Bolton, *loc. cit.*
[37] Underhill, *Papago*, pp. 90-2.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
NU28 Papago NU28
Pima NU89

this spirit of giving. But not only was the Papago practice of giving motivated by economic considerations; generosity was a high virtue and giving was truly an investment in good will. One who secured a reputation for penury definitely lost caste in village and family life. Moreover, all gifts were returned in equal quantity and more. Such continuous exchange of goods in the form of gifts constituted the Papago equivalent for trade but only rarely attained the status of actual trade.

In addition to the extensive system of exchange of goods among themselves, some Papago made trading expeditions to the Yuma. They also journeyed to the middle Gila, the San Pedro and the Indians in the Altar Valley, then later among the Mexicans of various parts of Sonora. This was done particularly at harvest time, Papago from the northern villages traveling to the Gila where they had relatives and friends, those from the southern settlements being in closer contact with Mexico, particularly the Altar Valley. At these places they traded numerous articles and labored in return for food, in historic times chiefly wheat, but formerly maize and beans, as well as cotton. This was observed in 1740, later by Anza;[88] again in 1863-64, and in 1893 by Whittemore,[89] who also noted that when the Papago became very hungry they would journey to the Gila and present for the Pima a "Begging Dance" which had a specific form and lasted two or three nights, in return for which each Pima family was expected to contribute fifty to one hundred pounds of wheat.

In Mexico a few Papago worked as cowboys and at miscellaneous tasks, for which they were paid in money. Such contacts resulted in a more rapid deculturation and disorganization than occurred in the northern villages. Specifically these villages in the south, some of which had raised cattle since Kino's day, began about a century ago to acquire cattle in larger numbers. As a result of hire for money among the

[88] *Documentos*, 3rd ser., IV, 858; Bolton, *Anza*, II, 17.

[89] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* for 1863, p. 384; *ibid.* for 1864, p. 153; Whittemore, in *Among the Pimas*, pp. 81-3.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

177 are found in Sonora, and the discovery of one or two 516 large placer mines has been due to these Indians.

The Papagoes are by no means badly off, as a rule, 231 and they manage to make a good living where, so far, 511 the white man's efforts have failed. Their herds, adapting themselves to the arid conditions, are increasing and making the Indian prosperous and comfortable. Good mules now carry burdens which his wife or he himself formerly had to toil under; cheese is made from the milk of their cows and sold or used for their own consumption, and, above all, they have wheat and maize in sufficient quantities to last them all the year round. They [439] also have wheat and occasionally some head of cattle to sell, obtaining in return commodities of civilized life. [177 The white man's kitchen utensils are being acquired, 412] and the women have begun to find it more convenient to use flour than to grind the grain on the metate. No native race, though keeping its language, can help changing its ideas under such conditions. In a very few years there will be no more interest attached to the Papago than to the native descendant of the once proud Aztec in the suburbs of the City of Mexico.

191 Although the Papago in Arizona always insists upon 182 speaking his own language, still he is rapidly losing his 177 aboriginal beliefs, customs, and habits; even basketwork, for which the women of the tribe were noted, is falling into decay. Both in Arizona and Sonora the Indians have completely adopted the white man's garments. 177 Some old man may still be found in the more remote 241 parts wearing his aboriginal apparel, consisting of a

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

578 and harmony reigned, but now all that is changing. The Indian who has to work for his living finds it hard to make
[511] ends meet, and to support additional people becomes impossible, hence quarrels and unpleasant conditions begin to manifest themselves.

361 178 [231] Formerly they lived in large rancherias, but in the last twenty years the tendency has been to scatter. They have been touched by commercialism and are now showing energy in acquiring cattle and other property. Formerly, too, a family owned a couple of cows and a horse or sometimes they had no animals, but during the last twenty years the tribe has acquired a considerable number of live-stock, often twenty cows and from ten to twelve horses to a family. Four or five families are the individual possessors of a few hundred head of cattle, but there is no difference in their mode of life from that of the rest.

178 The women are clever in adapting themselves to the new conditions. I know of an instance where the wife made a shirt for her husband without ever having learned how to cut it out, and the garment, when finished, was very creditably done. What the girls desire most to acquire at school is the knowledge of music and dressmaking. Some of them have learned at the Presbyterian schools to play the piano, which redounds much to the credit of the schools. To develop man's sense for harmony and the beautiful, whether by music or other refining pursuits, is as important as to teach him to read and write.

The Papagoes recognize the white man's superiority and have begun to make money an aim in life, which may

the process of job upgrading which has moved other ethnic groups from seasonal farm work to temporary and permanent farm work to urban industrial employment. 463

Papago Welfare Programs. There is little or no evidence that Papago Indians have taken undue advantage of welfare programs. On the contrary, there is much evidence that state and federal welfare payments make the difference between complete and painful poverty and a bearable standard of living for many reservation families. This last statement holds particularly true for the old people--close to 60% of all welfare payments go to individuals over 65--who are especially vulnerable under modern conditions. 657 511 [888]

To learn more about this problem, and its place in reservation family economics, Mr. Richard Jones, graduate research assistant in the Bureau of Ethnic Research, was assigned the task of gathering and analysing necessary data. His work was thorough, covering all phases of welfare administration, welfare costs, and the effect of welfare on Indian families. A summary of his findings is given below. 114 121

Information gathered from the Indians themselves very obviously gives an undercount of welfare cases. We report a total of 390 individuals (on and off reservation) who received unearned income in 1959. The official number of cases, reported by Jones for reservation residents alone for 1959 was 448. We report a total of 206 individuals over the age of 65 receiving unearned income while Jones reports 266 cases of Old Age Assistance (59%). 657 128

It is not likely that Papagos would deliberately withhold information on welfare. The difference is probably to be found in the welfare cases among the 990 on whom we have no employment data, and in the reporting of individuals receiving welfare as "unemployed". In any event, we were forced to depend upon informants since welfare information, which identifies the recipients, is confidential and so not available to us.

as a basis for comparison, ADC cases occur in the ratio 1 to 6, OAA cases occur in the ratio 1 to 7 and Aid to the Blind cases occur in the ratio 1 to 10.

The data given above reveal quite clearly the "vulnerable" situation of most Papago families and the depressed economic conditions on the reservations. The welfare picture, however, is not quite as bad as it appears to be. Indians look upon their reservations as a place of security and support--not only in terms of the assistance rendered through federal agencies, but also the security and support that can be expected from kinsmen and neighbors in an Indian community. Indians in trouble return to the reservations and this is undoubtedly the reason why Jones found 465 individuals receiving welfare payments on the reservations in 1959 and we found only 32 such cases among Papagos living off the reservations.

Employment and Income on the Papago Reservations. Information on residence and place of employment as given in this report indicates how difficult it would be to study a "reservation population" apart from a "tribal population." It has been shown that family movement on and off the reservations is a constant process and that the annual earnings of 350 adults, at the very least, are from sources both on and off the reservation. Another group of about 450 adults (not counting the unemployed and housewives) are recorded as having their "usual" home on the reservations but live on income from temporary and seasonal wage work on the outside.

Patterns of Papago employment and the many and varied sources of income pose major problems in any attempt to learn the sum of Papago earnings family by family. Even in a sample survey, where the employment and earnings of a small number of families could be studied intensively, the findings would be less than precise for the hundreds of families who are multi-employed, irregularly employed,

19: Dobyns NU28 Papago NU28

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[For the author's predictions and projections on the future of Papago migratory farm labor (employment and wage levels, recruiting and labor relations, labor camp living conditions and sanitary facilities) in view of probable technological and economic changes in regional commercial agriculture, see category 116, pp. 99-135.]

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

[Housing in Southern Arizona Labor Camps]

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Probably the short time most of the farms in Pinal county have been reclaimed from the desert accounts for the dearth of adobe structures in labor camps there. This material was used much less than in Pima county--in less than a twentieth of the camps apparently.[1]

If the suggested labor camp code being referred to as a standard had been adopted by the state of Arizona, quite obviously most of the cotton farmers would be violating this section. It is equally sure none would ever be convicted by a jury of his peers--for the peers in this area are all just as guilty.

Another factor to consider is the interior arrangement of labor housing. The suggested labor camp code we are citing sets the standard:

> "(b) All buildings, tents, or other structures serving as living quarters for families shall provide separate sleeping quarters for the parents and children."[2]

In siding-and-frame labor housing in Southern Arizona this condition virtually does not exist. In a few instances where barracks sold as war-surplus from one of the temporary airfields or the Gila River Relocation Center have been remodeled for labor housing, each family has more than one room. A few smaller growers who farm on a life-time basis provide their workers with multi-roomed, well-equipped housing. But in the labor camps of big cotton plungers, each family eats, sleeps, and does all its living in one bare room.

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Aside from the problem of privacy in labor camps is the matter of adequate breathing space. Of course, these rural slums are open to unlimited sky, but what of the cabins themselves? Our standard of comparison is:

> "(c) In shelters occupied by single family groups, rooms used for sleeping purposes shall provide at least 400 cubic feet of air space per person.
> "(d) In all shelters providing sleeping accomodations not less than 50 square feet of floor area with at least a 7-foot 6-inch ceiling shall be provided for each person."[3]

[1] Only 1 camp of 24 studied had adobe structures.
[2] Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, 1947, p. 40.
[3] Ibid., p. 40.

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Probably the whole body of Papago cotton harvesters earned a gross income in the neighborhood of $600,000 in 1950.[1] This amount very likely represents about half the total cash income of the Papago Indians in 1950. Added to wages earned in the Ajo and reservation mines, working for the government, the Tribe, traders, and the highway department and in domestic service, and the wages of Papago farm workers during the rest of the year, this figure probably represents a total wage labor income comprising over 60% of all Papago income.[2]

• 511

The $600,000 gross cotton picking income estimate does not represent anywhere near that amount in take-home to the reserve pay, however. Workers must support themselves while they are picking cotton, pay for their pilgrimmages on religious occasions, for any trips they take back to the reserves during picking season, and for clothes and food purchased against lean days without work after picking is done.

During the war it was estimated that $50 of every $100 received by Papagos was spent by them in the trading posts on their reserves at once.[3] Since many Papagos were in the services or doing defense work who are now on the reserves or picking cotton, the proportion is probably only slightly lower. Almost as much went into the coffers of merchants outside the reserves during the war[4] and this amount has increased if anything at the expense of reservation traders. In any case, the Desert People can return home with little cash.

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[594] [1] Calculated as follows: Average seasonal income per family with man and wife picking is about $600 ($635 in upland or $585 in American-Egyptian, but a family usually had to pick some of both) assuming the workers starting before September approximately balance those starting later. The number of families with $600 gross income in 1950 was about 1,000 (figuring 2 pickers per family in a labor force of 2,000). Actually income was probably higher because of additional amounts earned by children after school hours and on holidays, and those families with more than 3 steady pickers, and families in which wives worked a full week.

[2] Laboring wages made up 86% of Papago income in 1947, and the figure is undoubtedly higher now. Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 31.

[3] Program, Papago Reservations, 1944, p. 43.

[4] Ibid., p. 43.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

ECONOMIC NECESSITY

Basic reasons Papagos Work--

433 [463] [659] [313] [316] [461]

In a rural area, there are not many choices of livelihood--farming, mining, lumbering, raising cattle. The Papago reservations have no timber worth cutting other than mesquite trees for firewood. The Papago reservations are the only lands in the U. S. reserved for Indians which are open to mineral entry by outsiders. Consequently mining claims are held by non-Papagos, and profits go elsewhere. The only way the Desert People can benefit from mines is by selling their labor to the owners.

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Farming is risky for the Desert People. Only two communities have irrigated lands which can be depended upon for crops. The rest must resort to age-old techniques of flood farming where arroyos spread flood waters from mountains. Spots that can be farmed this way are not abundant. They are being decreased each summer as gullies wash out fields and arroyos cover them with sterile sand and gravel washed down from overgrazed and eroding slopes above. Flood farming was never more than a subsistence measure because of the size limitation on fields, and frequent crop failures from flooding out, frost, or drought. Today, there is little incentive to gamble on a subsistence farm for any Papago able to speak enough English to get a job. For [464] wage labor means a super-subsistence income, even if a [511] substandard one by Anglo lights.

241 433 464 221

Probably every worker on the Papago reservations has noticed the steady abandonment of flood farms. Among Papago cotton pickers with these farms, less than half apparently bother to plant any crops at all nowadays.[1] Cotton picking starts just about the time fields need weeding on the reserves, and picking season hits its peak just about the time flood field crops are ready to harvest. This conflict between flood-farm growing season and wage-labor season in the cotton fields results in many Papago laborers not planting crops at all on the reserves.

433 241 461

Another factor discouraging flood farm planting is that these small plots produce only subsistence crops at best, even if the gamble against drought and over-

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[1] 5 families of 11 giving information had any crops at all in 1950.

their fields and springs on both sides of the boundary have given many virtually dual citizenship. So there is doubt as to whether the Papagos need "Tourist Permits." In 1950 apparently three-fourths of the Desert People who journeyed to Magdalena obtained "Tourist Permits" which cost $3 U. S. currency.[1]

The Magdalena celebration is not wholly religious in character. The plazas of the town are jammed with flimsy booths of poles and mats selling toys, cloth, shoes, hardware, pottery, curios, and goods of every sort, as well as food and drink. There are games of chance, and amusements: merry-go-rounds and power rides; there are beauty parlors and dance halls.

This secular side of fiesta is not ignored by the Desert People. In fact, they join in whole-heartedly. Magdalena merchants look upon them as special guests of the town, welcome guests who are well-behaved and "rich." Every Papago questioned on the matter said he enjoyed his stay in Magdalena.[2]

This great carnival with its colorful meeting of diverse cultures--Spanish, Papago, and Yaqui and Mayo Indian--seems to be the holiday of the year for the Desert People. Apparently it has largely replaced the old Papago New Year at the sahuaro-jack ceremony early in July as the major calendrical event. Such an occasion cannot lack its economic aspects.

The Papago pilgrim pays about $7.00 for his transportation. $3 more goes for a "Tourist Permit." Lodging for 3 nights during fiesta is expensive in Magdalena, since everyone doubles his price, and renting rooms never let at other times of the year is a primary industry of the place. Sleeping space in a room or in a patio near the main plaza in Magdalena costs about $2 U. S. per night.[3] This means another $6 expenditure for Papagos staying the average length of time. Eating for 3 days is not expensive at thrown-together restaurants on plazas and side streets. A satisfactory meal could be purchased for 3 pesos at a reasonably clean establishment. At night a feast (roast whole pig with fresh buns, tomato and vegetable for example) could be had for 4 pesos. Peddlers hawked

[1] Of 13 Papagos giving information 10 obtained permits, or 77%.
[2] In this case, 8 individuals of 8. The author has seen 2 fiestas at Magdalena; has yet to see Papagos who didn't seem to be having a good time.
[3] Dobyns, 1950, p. 28.

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511 425 788 fruits and sugar cane, baked goods and all sorts of manufactured articles. A couple of large ears of boiled green corn costing 40 centavos were almost a meal. With the exchange rate at almost 9 pesos to the U. S. dollar, the Desert People could eat cheaply in Magdalena. $4 for a three-day stay in 1950 was ample.

Thus a Papago pilgrim spending 3 days at the 1950 fiesta needed about $20 U. S. to travel to and from Magdalena, and eat and sleep while there. But probably every Papago spent more than that amount, and most spent considerably more. There were candles to be bought for the saint, coins to be left in his box, ribbons to buy, statues for the household shrine, and other religious mementos, including a colored pin or [293] a picture. And because Mexico does not discriminate against her Indian citizens in the matter of liquor as does the U. S., there was good Mexican beer and mescal and tequila to drink without let or hindrance. Most pilgrims probably spent $25 in 1950, and many spent up to $40 or $50 each.

788 San Xavier on the Papagos' own San Xavier reservation is not nearly so exciting as the Mexican town, but it is nearer and felt to be safer--many Papagos have an almost pathologic fear of Mexican pachucos. [297] Staffed with Franciscans, San Xavier is still an Indian church, still an Indian mission. To San Xavier go from 15% to 20% of the pilgrims from the cotton fields.[1] This is a much less expensive pilgrimage than the one to Magdalena. There is no town with its shops and bars (although the city of Tucson is only a dozen miles away for shopping). Bus fare is cheaper. The 450 to 500 Papago pickers making a pilgrimage to San Xavier had tamer times.

Chuuhiy Ouwsk is a relatively new goal for pilgrims. San Xavier and Magdalena were founded by the first Jesuit missionary to the Desert People, Fr. Eusebio Kino, before 1700. The present churches were built under later Franciscan friars in the Spanish colonial period. But Chuuhiy Ouwsk was never the site of a mission. Just south of the international boundary in Mexico, it is still an Indian town. Mexicans from

First Continues on P 931

[1] of 25 whose pilgrimage goal was obtained went to San Xavier--17%.

788 the surrounding countryside are beginning to make the pilgrimage there. The church was built by the Indians to house the statue which is believed by them to have appeared miraculously in the village only a few years ago. Chuwhiy Guwsk (the name means Jackrabbit Falls Down) is growing in importance as a goal for Papago pilgrims. In 1950 it attracted about a fifth of those making a pilgrimage from labor camps, probably more than 500 people.[1] Reached by desert trails, the town is not serviced by a bus. Pilgrims reached it on trucks or in cars, or in wagons or on horseback. Most Desert People who traveled to one of the fiestas by wagon in 1950 visited Chuwhiy Guwsk. The town itself has no permanent water supply aside from its charco, and affords no power supply for bright lights. Portable generators were used in 1950 to light the few temporary bars and restaurants. The merchandise stuffed booths of Magdalena were absent, and the cost of a pilgrimage was much lower.

461 221 788 [574] [466] A good many Papagos worked a trip to their homes on the reserves into their pilgrimage before they went back to picking cotton. Their disregard of what most Anglos consider unbreakable rules for good working behavior baffles and irritates their employers. Pilgrims from Pima county labor camps lost an average of 5½ days from work, in effect a work week, varying from those gone a single day to families absent 3 weeks.[2] In Pinal county, which is even more distant from the pilgrimage towns, Papagos lost more time from work. Families stayed from 2 days to a month, averaging 9 days away from their picking jobs.[3] This amount of time taken from cotton harvesting just before the peak of the season is reached is frequently incomprehensible to Anglo Protestant cotton growers, and is a black mark against Papago Catholic employees in their eyes.

484 788 ●511 [436] It seems quite likely that most Papago families making a pilgrimage from a labor camp to Magdalena, Chuwhiy Guwsk or San Xavier in 1950 spent most or all that they had earned picking cotton up to that time on their pilgrimage trip. The average sized family working in the cotton harvest needed $90 for transportation, food and lodging in Magdalena for the usual 3-day sojourn, and the added cost of drinking beer and

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[1] 8 of 83 individuals whose goal was obtained, 22%.
[2] Based on information from 8 farmers hiring Papagos.
[3] Based on 19 farms where information was obtained.

484 mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of
788 jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home
511 and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat
435 and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around $125.

788 While Chuwhiy Guwak was not so expensive, and San
435 Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 800
511 Papago families making pilgrimmages from labor camps
(1176) spent at least $50,000 on the one religious celebration on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than likely spent about $75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

461 Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubt-
511 edly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

166 Most Papago families picking cotton in 1950 made
484 at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over
484 four-fifths of them returned home at least once.[1]
574 Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.[2]

484 About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls
796 Day, the next important religious event after the
769 fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important in number of Indian participants.[3] However, there are
(988) no centers for the observance of this day of memorial. Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

484 The last of the trio of religious festivals falls
796 on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually
(796) the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between Saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta on Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

[1] 25 families of 29 giving data returned, 88%.
[2] 23 families made 30 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Pinal county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.
[3] 14 of 20 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.

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511 But those few hours are enough for the Papagos to spend about half their wages. During the war it was estimated $40 of every $100 they received from labor, cattle, and produce went immediately to business men operating outside the reserves.[1] With the boom in cotton, and the boom for Papago pickers, probably even more is spent off the reserves today.

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484 Most farmers who send a truck in to town with a load of Indians seem to have learned they have fewer problems with drunkenness if the trucks return to the labor camps before dinner. The time the Desert People spend in town now is considerably less than it was a few years ago, when the streets were filled with Papagos long after dark. Then on Monday morning farmers went to city halls in numbers to find some of their laborers and pay their "$10 or 10 day" fines so they could go back to work.

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[733] Drinking is still the main sin Anglo employers hold against Papago farm workers, as well as the number one social problem among the Desert People. As a farmer near Stanfield observed, "There's nothing more useless than a drunk Indian." It is the exceptional cotton farmer who can say of his Papagos they "drink less and are less trouble--the whites drink more." Most farmers would agree with a foreman who said that the Papagos in his camp "all drink, but very few get wild." Some growers control this problem by firing those of the Desert People unable to restrict their tippling to week ends in town. Cotton farmers often bail out good workers rather than lose their services for 10 days to the city. All over the irrigated valleys where Papagos work, bootlegging to Indians is an acute problem.

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[439] So widespread is drinking among the Desert People in labor camps that it appears to be one big attraction to Papagos to leave their reserves to work. Liquor is much more easily obtained in labor camps and trading towns than on isolated reserves. Friendly or profiteering Anglos, Negros and Mexican-Americans willing to sell a bottle to a thirsty Indian are relatively abundant around camps and towns. And enforcement of laws prohibiting liquor to Indians is especially difficult outside reserves. One isolated rural store, at

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[1] Program, Papago Reservation, 1944, p. 45.

273 One isolated rural store, at
452 least, sold Papagos wine on credit in 1950--an
439 ultimate easing of the usual difficulty Indians find in buying intoxicants!

273 Many individual Papagos picking cotton probably
[434] have no cash surplus from their season's labor be-
[454] cause they spend all their extra money for liquor.
[511] They work long enough to get drunk, then lay off until
[526] they are both broke and sober again. This type of individual gives the whole Papago labor force a very evil reputation. But neither disapproval or employers nor social disapprobation within the Papago tribe seem to be strong enough to curb drinking.

000 Probably repeal of federal law prohibiting liquor
[293] to Indians would remove some of the attraction liquor holds for the Papagos. It would surely cut down on the number of staggering drunks--the usual state of Papago drunks--in allowing the Desert People to sit down in a bar like other civilized human beings and drink slowly and socially instead of paying an inflated bootlegger's price for inferior liquor to be gulped down immediately in a dark alley before a policeman confiscates it. Some policemen make a semi-racket of letting known bootleggers operate, and waiting until Papagos are thoroughly drunk before arresting them--a practice resulting in considerable police department revenue, and some extra cash for the officers, if some observant growers are to be believed. But the Desert
273 People do not drink merely because they aren't supposed
182 to. The basic reasons lie deeper in their psychology,
154 and are undoubtedly tied into emotional insecurities bred from economic uncertainty and the stresses arising from getting along with only half-understood Anglos.